

anarchist weekly Freedom

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Amin—Man of our Time

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So we have already a belt of countries, stretching across a vast area of the globe, from Mozambique to Britain, which are linked together in mutual fear and hatred, and internally divided by fear and hatred too. The African states are bothered with the persistence of

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Make no mistake. The General is popular, at least with a large section of the population of Uganda. The Asians are not liked in the other African countries where they live. Neither were

the Jews liked in France, the Soviet Union, Poland or most other European countries. When the Nazis began to persecute them fugitives were not automatically admitted to England. They had to prove that they were economically viable. I believe they had to have £1,000 or thereabouts, before they could be let into this country. That sum was worth much more in the 1930s than it is today. The excuse was that there was unemployment in England. The acceptance of the Ugandan Asians has been much less grudging, and Britain (if one can talk in these abstractions) has behaved with greater humanity.

General Amin is a man of our time. There is no question here of 'Darkest Africa', tribal barbarism and so forth. He is following in the footsteps of the rulers of Europe. He is a modern hero, who appeals to all the latest trends in hatred, brutality, political 'realism' and intolerance.

TRIBALISM IN AFRICA— TRIBALISM IN EUROPE

As is always the way with someone who is clever enough to sense the mood of his time, the General has succeeded in stirring things up on a very wide scale. So far he has embroiled Britain, Tanzania, Libya and the Sudan. He himself seems to think that Israel is involved, and in the end she may well be. It may well be that Libya's ruler, Colonel Qaddafi, acted with the knowledge and consent of Egypt, when he sent an expeditionary force to aid Amin. If so this brings in yet another country.

Meanwhile the Tanzanians are hampered in anything they may want to do because they have to keep their eyes on the South, in order not to be taken by surprise by a Portuguese attack from Mozambique. Tanzania is a refuge for guerillas fighting in that country, and most of the Tanzanian army is stationed

in the southern part of Tanzania.

So we have already a belt of countries, stretching across a vast area of the globe, from Mozambique to Britain, which are linked together in mutual fear and hatred, and internally divided by fear and hatred too. The African states are bothered with the persistence of tribalism, but this is not by any means confined to Africa. In Britain tribal loyalties are not so much persisting as reviving. The influx of a few thousand Asians has merely helped to accentuate the divisions already existing.

Although it is customary to talk about the 'classless new Britain' it would seem that race hatred has merely taken the place of class hatred. Not only is the country divided between those who would freely admit the Asians, and perhaps all Commonwealth immigrants (and in extreme cases—such as the present writer's—all immigrants, regardless of origin or past history, on the principle that the world is simply one big country), and those who would bar them, it is also split into Welsh, Scottish, Irish (Protestant) and Irish (Catholic) tribalisms. These, although they have no direct connection with Uganda, or with Asians, are likely to continue to develop, and will perhaps be stimulated by the general atmosphere of ethnocentrism that Amin has done his bit to create. It is not difficult to imagine some people saying, 'Let the English keep the Asians. We don't want them in Wales, Scotland or Ireland!' As it is I believe that black immigrants are not allowed into Ulster, not that many would want to go there. Some Jewish people I know have said that they have heard such things as, 'Let's get rid of the blacks and the Jews as well.' This of course has frightened them, and made them inclined to support a bar on black and Asian immigrants in defence of their own group. Thus evil

Continued on page 3

IT'S ALL A PLOT

**TOYNBEE HALL
LECTURE ROOM**

— 7.45 p.m. —

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5

**A Documentary Reading
presented by
Friends of Freedom**

Admission 25p

Tickets from Freedom Press

**Proceeds shared between
FREEDOM PRESS FUND
and
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The Same Old Story

THE GOVERNMENT'S proposals to limit all wage settlements to £2 a week for the next 12 months represents a prices and incomes policy in all but name. Its restriction on wages is in exchange for a limit on price increases of 5p in the pound and a five per cent economic growth over the next two years.

All Western industrial countries are facing ever increasing inflation. Most have imposed some form of incomes policy on those who actually produce the wealth. As in the other countries, the national governments blame the working class and their unions for demanding a higher monetary slice of the economic cake.

Mr. Heath, the Prime Minister, and his Cabinet colleagues, are now making an all-out effort to get the nation's support for their proposals. The proposals are being recommended and everyone is be-

are entitled. Workers are only too well aware of inflation. But they should not be willing to solve the economic problems of a system with which they have nothing in common.

Already the Government's promises must look a bit thin, because on Monday many council tenants started paying another £1 on their rents. Even if manufacturers try and keep prices down, their raw materials imported from abroad could go up in price. There is also no control over foodstuffs imported from abroad. Western capitalist economies are so interdependent that when prices start to rise in one country, its effects are soon felt in others.

Although limiting pay increases gives the impression of fairness, it is far from the truth. For those already struggling to keep a family on less than £20 a week, the extra £2 will soon disappear, despite the Government's so-called price

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Mr. Heath, the Prime Minister, and his Cabinet colleagues, are now making an all-out effort to get the nation's support for their proposals. The proposals are being recommended, and everyone is being urged 'to think nationally'. Inflation has taken on all the proportions of a national disaster which we are all called upon to combat.

But as with all situations like these, the politicians point out that, if we only respond now, there is a ray of hope for the future. Mr. Heath puts it like this:

'Think of the harm and the suffering which inflation has caused and is causing to so many among us. Think of the real prospects opening up for yourselves and your children.'

It's the same old story of the good life in some near or far off future. The same pie in the sky.

A CLASS SOCIETY

Governments always try and perpetrate the myth that all the people bounded within a nation state are as one. Yet it is clear that nations are made up of different classes. We live in a class society with all its social injustices, inequalities and coercive powers. Those who run and control the state always blame the working class for 'holding the country to ransom' by seeking higher wages and better conditions.

The people who daily toil for wages are called upon to curb their demands in order to safeguard the very system that keeps them at the bottom of the social and economic pile. A £2 a week increase is asking workers to do just that. The Government wants workers to assist in the continuation of their own slavery.

So far the response from the trade unions has been, 'it's not on'. Unions are going to continue to press for the claims to which they think their members

are entitled. Workers are only too well aware of inflation. But they should not be willing to solve the economic problems of a system with which they have nothing in common.

Already the Government's promises must look a bit thin, because on Monday many council tenants started paying another £1 on their rents. Even if manufacturers try and keep prices down, their raw materials imported from abroad could go up in price. There is also no control over foodstuffs imported from abroad. Western capitalist economies are so interdependent that when prices start to rise in one country, its effects are soon felt in others.

Although limiting pay increases gives the impression of fairness, it is far from the truth. For those already struggling to keep a family on less than £20 a week, the extra £2 will soon disappear, despite the Government's so-called price restraint. For the middle classes a £2 limit will have little effect on their standard of living. In fact it is the working class who are once again being clobbered to provide the prosperity for the middle classes of this country. It is the producers who are called upon to make the sacrifices so that the middle classes and the employers can continue to enjoy their privileged position in society.

THE LOT OF THE WORKING CLASS

Inflation, wage restraint, depressions and unemployment, these are the lot of the working class. Those on top are not affected by the economic ups and downs of the system. A freeze on dividends for one year can be recovered the next or can be used for extra capital investment. In a period when profits have reached record levels, we are now told that we must limit wage increases in order to fight inflation.

The only answer to the Government is to have nothing to do with its policy. It is not the task of the working class to solve the capitalists' problems. The trade unions do not have to offer an alternative policy. The interests of the working class are opposed to those of the employers. Workers should seek the highest wages possible. However wages do forge the chains of our slavery. We do not want to live to work, but to work just enough hours in order to provide sufficient for everyone's needs. One cannot legislate for a free and moneyless society. Men and women have to desire it and take the necessary action to achieve it.

P.T.

Continued on page 3

Neither 'Growth' nor 'Zero Growth'

BLUEPRINT FOR EXTINCTION, A Critique of the Zero Growth Movement, published by the National Caucus of Labour Committees (in America), 10p.

WRITTEN IN A desolating Marxist jargon, *Blueprint for Extinction* nevertheless has a valid point to put across, I think. Essentially it is this. The rulers of our society, the capitalists, find their economy in a state of crisis, and the more lively-minded of them (they could hardly be called 'progressive') have the idea of stabilising the situation by persuading the mass of the population, the working class mainly, to cut down on their consumption. The result would be a society of rich and poor, much like Spain, Latin America or the East. The rich would keep their privileges, the rest of the population would live at a low level.

Certainly one cannot help feeling sus-

picious when organisations of capitalists like 'The Club of Rome' start announcing doomsday. Until recently 'growth' at any price was the capitalist ideology. Anybody who queried this conventional wisdom was accused of wanting people to be poor. Now however wealthy and powerful men are denouncing 'growth'.

Unlike the writer or writers of this pamphlet, I do not really believe it is all quite so consciously a plot against the working class. Like most of the movements of history, the Zero Growth Movement is a mixture of good and bad. Muddle and confused good intentions play at least as big a part in human affairs as deliberate wickedness and desire to exploit. However, even though there may be no real plot, the effect is the same as if there were.

Blueprint for Extinction weakens its case by its tendency to verge on the melodramatic, but perhaps that is hardly

a fair criticism for the present writer to make of anyone! Not only does the pamphlet go all-out for the conspiracy theory of history, but it also seems to be suggesting—the title is to be taken quite literally—that a prolonged period of slump will lead to a decline in the birthrate, with the ultimate result that mankind will die out. I wish I could feel as upset about this as the writers of *Blueprint*. Considering mankind's terrible history, maybe this would be a happy development. But I do not believe it will happen anyway. Yes, I know that the birthrate goes down every time there is an economic slump. But if people really felt their species threatened they would probably develop an ideology of 'be fruitful and multiply' and large families would again become fashionable, despite the unfavourable economic climate.

Blueprint is not for 'growth', nor for

'zero growth', but technology and a solid support for nuclear instead of nuclear competent to say nothing about nuclear regard all machine the typewriter will. But at any rate fusion does not authors want to industrialism that environment. The back to the horse I believe they are

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Goodman (Penguin)

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Notes on a Revolutionary Struggle for Schools

1. 'ONLY IF SCHOOL is understood as an industry can revolutionary strategy be planned realistically.'—Ivan Illich.

2. The education industry in a modern state functions as a monopoly in that through excessive market power it effectively determines the product, education, to satisfy a genuine and existing need, for education. This capacity of giant monopolies to extend their control from the area of production to that of consumption, i.e. to shape and control demand, has been effectively demonstrated by Galbraith. Monopolies seek to grow, to maintain their market position and power, partly through a process of want creation and partly by extending their control over a wider range of activities. (The proliferation of examinations . . . CSE boards are now experimenting with a new examination, the Certificate of Extended Education for less academic sixth formers . . . is an instance of want creation. 'Progressive' attempts to meet the criticism that schools are not life-related, e.g. careers courses, sex education, community work courses, are all too often instances of a school's extension of its area of control. Paul Goodman welcomes programmes 'to open the school to the world . . . but want them to go the small further step of abolishing the present school establishment instead of aggrandising it'.) The education industry, while sharing the characteristics of other monopoly-dominated industries, is also an essential instrument of the modern State's control apparatus, preparing children for their future role within the State and within industries governed by those relations

set-up. The school as an institution initiates the child into other institutions.

(c) education, defined as the acquisition of skill / knowledge / understanding. Schools have a valuable role to play in this context so long as they are clearly seen to have a limited and in no way exclusive role.

4. If the analyses above are accurate then education seen as the product of the education industry cannot be used as an instrument of emancipation. On the contrary, as Reimer writes, 'To the masses and their leaders schools have held out unprecedented hope of social justice. To the elite they have been an unparalleled instrument appearing to give what they do not, while convincing all that they get what they deserve'. What Rucker wrote of the State is true of its instrument, education . . . 'The State is capable only of protecting old privileges and creating new ones'. Awareness of the functions of schools is confused by the kind of myth-making which both States and schools go in for . . . the ideology of equality of opportunity, propounded by many who support comprehensive education, disguises the reality of continued and enforced inequality wherein advancement is at the expense of others. Those who attack the social democratic myths and its assumptions must be prepared to be labelled reactionaries by good bourgeois socialists whether labour or communist. This analysis does not mean however that in recognising the present educational system for what it is that the question of education should be postponed until after a political revolution, since such a revolution simply creates

in which teachers would actively support the activities of students and vice versa.

6. The following are only notes for strategies which may beg more questions than provide answers. I should declare that as a teacher in the State system and a syndicalist my primary interest is in strategies for producers.

(a) strategies for consumers

1. to demand the freedom of children to decide what they wish to learn, when and where within the State system or without. The relationship between teacher and taught should be that of a free contract. Parents and children should be encouraged to shop around and refuse to accept an inferior product.

2. to encourage experiments outside the established system such as free schools, resource centres, networks of information sources and volunteer teachers, so to maximise students' choice.

3. to insist that the school restrict itself to a pedagogic role. Parents and children must retrieve the responsibilities which schools have abrogated, e.g. questions of dress, social behaviour, etc.

4. to demand an effective say in school government. There is a genuine problem here of defining areas of consumer control/areas of workers control . . . the syndicalist's dilemma. The effecting of these demands can only be done by individuals, groups or organisations acting in concrete ways at local level, while sharing their experience through a magazine such as *Children's Rights* or periodic conferences. Education in this country unlike others is still to some extent decentralised. This does not contradict the fact that education is an instrument of the State but it does mean that locally organised actions can be successful. Networks of information sources and volunteer teachers can be formed around a neighbourhood newspaper or an informal grouping, setting out to educate itself. Organisations like the NUSS and SAU, Women's Lib., shop stewards groups, trade unions, parents groups, can and should involve themselves in the criticism of schools. The provision of alternatives, the use

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3. Reimer in his excellent *School is Dead* defines the functions of school as:

(a) *social role selection*. The education industry controls the distribution of certificates which largely determine the kind of job/status which a person can obtain.

(b) *indoctrination*. The school is the first highly institutionalised environment to which the child is subjected and it is an environment which reflects the prevalent value system, e.g. in its hierarchic

set-up. The school as an institution initiates the child into other institutions.

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5. Approaching education as an industry then one can design and act on strategies for those who are consumers of that industry's products, i.e. parents, children, students. Equally one can design strategies for those who are workers within the industry, i.e. teachers. Obviously there will be many occasions

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I believe that the anarchist/syndicalist teacher should be active both within the school and within his local union branch. (It is equally true that he must be a hard and good worker with and for his students in the classroom.) Teacher unions are to a considerable extent decentralised . . . a great deal of effective bargaining about conditions, school government, the organisation of schools, the provision of educational opportunities for teachers, children and parents, can be done at local level. There are also rank and file groups which one might not always agree with but are doing good work, such as Rank and File and Further Left.

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Secretary:
**Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
 Rotton Park, Birmingham 16**

**ANARCHIST
 FEDERATION
 of BRITAIN**

AFBIB—To all Groups.

AFBIB is produced at 34 Cowley Road, Oxford. Send all news, reports, subs., etc., to Oxford.

The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information. Groups should send latest addresses to Oxford. New inquirers should write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham.
Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)
Yorkshire: Trevor Bavage, Flat 3, 35 Richmond Road, Leeds, 6.
Manchester: Mat Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancs.
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.

'Zero Growth'

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a fair criticism for the present writer to make of anyone! Not only does the pamphlet go all-out for the conspiracy theory of history, but it also seems to be suggesting—the title is to be taken quite literally—that a prolonged period of slump will lead to a decline in the birthrate, with the ultimate result that mankind will die out. I wish I could feel as upset about this as the writers of *Blueprint*. Considering mankind's terrible history, maybe this would be a happy development. But I do not believe it will happen anyway. Yes, I know that the birthrate goes down every time there is an economic slump. But if people really felt their species threatened they would probably develop an ideology of 'be fruitful and multiply' and large families would again become fashionable, despite the unfavourable economic climate.

Blueprint is not for 'growth', nor for

'zero growth', but for an alternative technology and a socialist society. About its support for nuclear fusion power, instead of nuclear fission, I do not feel competent to say anything, I know nothing about nuclear technology. I regard all machines more complex than the typewriter with profound distrust. But at any rate *Blueprint* claims that fusion does not pollute, and what its authors want to develop is a form of industrialism that does not wreck the environment. They do not want to go back to the horse and cart.

I believe they are on less firm ground

when they advocate 'socialism', and dismiss anarchism as 'pie in the sky'. Socialist governments are just as oppressive as capitalist ones, and are probably just as ready to pollute. But anyway what does *Blueprint* mean by 'socialism'? The governments of Eastern Europe are quickly dismissed as mere enclaves in the world capitalist system. So where is this 'socialism' to be found? What form will it take?

Despite all the above criticisms this is a pamphlet which should be read.

ARTHUR WARDON.

Building a New Society

AFTER THE PLANNERS by Robert Goodman (Penguin, 75p).

ANARCHISTS HAVE TENDED to look at present society in two distinct ways. Firstly they counterpose thoughts of exploitation, hierarchy, bureaucracy and nationalism with concepts of mutual co-operation, equality, decentralisation and international class consciousness. Secondly the material side of capitalism, bad housing, hard work, poverty or even divided communities are answered with different work organisation and more concentration of living than working. The two channels of thought link at times but only because the capitalist system does it for us. In one aspect—urban (housing) planning and the power to create harmonious living systems to complement working systems (commuter towns, mill towns, mining villages) by central instruction of the type, size, density and appearance of buildings is not countered by the power of libertarian society making plans to promote harmony with work and living. Certainly such designs as some new towns, consumer centres geared to make maximum profit and roads driven right through communities, go a long way towards destroying the basis of organising a free life.

Now, however, with the publication of Robert Goodman's book, these ideas have gained some grounding. The excellent introduction by John Palmer (not John (I.S.) Palmer) puts the book into the context of planning, economic, military, social and so forth, as well as physical town and country planning. He

also pours scorn on those who work within the system because they think that their professional expertise is neutral or that they can change things from inside. For these people he has two remarks, they are either Albert Speers co-operating with totalitarian regimes or liberals unable to grasp that 'social science is political science'. Although some of Palmer's ideas seem to be liberal rather than libertarian he does take a firm stand on one point—without consumer participation we can only evolve into totalitarian forms of regimented living.

Goodman writes specifically for Americans about America. However his chapter headings alone (urban-industrial complex, architecture of repression) show how clear in his mind are the growing symptoms of totalitarianism. In the former chapter he talks of the provision and control of city schools services and development either directly in company towns or suburbs, or indirectly via company members 'elected' to state review boards. In the Architecture of Repression he is far more specific. Towns are designed to suppress us. Baron Hausmann built boulevards so they were too wide to barricade, Manila was laid out by Americans to impress and overawe the natives. He places side by side Hitler's quotes on city architecture and current US government officials' quotes, and also photos of both Hitlerian and American official architecture. To this the professionals are useless or, as the author quotes from Bakunin, 'A scientific body entrusted with the government of society would soon end by devoting itself not to science but to quite another interest.'

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... Renwick, 34 Durham Road,
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... Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)
... Savage, Flat 3, 35 Richmond

... Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill
... on, Worsely, Lancs.

... Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood
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... uration of Anarchists: P.O.
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Tobin was not accused of writing or publishing the pamphlets. In fact the person who admitted producing them was tried at Liverpool Crown Court in January, 1972—and found not guilty! Even under the legal system as it exists now, therefore, Tobin's sentence was outrageous and in reality the product of a witch hunt. Anyone interested in the case should contact the Michael Tobin Defence Committee at 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent.

P.I.

... mantle the whole apparatus of the examination industry and of the advisors/experts industry. Teachers must be their own administrators, their own researchers.

4. restrict their role and refuse to dole out punishment. Equally teachers should refuse to interfere in the lives of those they teach. If a child needs help outside the classroom the teacher should help as one human being to another not because he sees it as a part of a teacher's role. Teachers must insist on their rightful role to teach what they want, how they want, while allowing their students the equal right of refusing it. Here it is important to defend the increasing number of teachers and students being persecuted for their views.

5. argue always for alternatives to school and give them active support, e.g. the extension of day release, resource centres.

6. encourage the local branch to be fully involved with the local trades council to encourage trade union involvement at local level in education, particularly further education, and to share in common struggles, e.g. against the Industrial Relations Act. The local union branch for teachers as for any workers

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Needless to say neither Goodman nor Palmer are members of 'scientific bodies'. Goodman is a Professor of Architecture and an important figure in anti-state architectural thought expressed in *The Architect's Resistance*. Palmer has left his job as a Town Planner and now works in Notting Hill Housing Service—a body of professionals intimately linked with community groups.

We have had many critiques of planning, most recently Kuenzlen's *Playing Urban Games* (reviewed in *FREEDOM*) but few alternatives. Goodman presents just this in the section *Towards Liberation*. He mentions various forms of direct action, squatting, sit-ins on parking lots and guerilla architecture—rapidly assembling houses in unused or misused areas. More than this he links up and extends all these ideas into 'Environment as Cultural Revolution' and shows us how people create their own homes and organisation in the 'slums' of Lima.

This is perhaps the least noticed aspect of cities, their creation by individuals, families, and communities as well as by government agencies and big business.

D.B.

... should be a school for gaining experience of struggle and management . . . the trades council provides a means of sharing it, so too contact with rank and file groups in industry.

I must emphasise that these notes are in no way exhaustive nor would I wish them to be regarded as a programme. I regard as sterile much of the holier than thou argumentation as to whether one should work in the State system or without, whether one should work inside or outside a trade union, and it seems to me perfectly possible for people sharing the same principles to prefer different strategies. But on those principles I would insist . . . that anarcho-syndicalists must avoid acting towards others with contempt, i.e. must seek always to reconcile means and ends, they cannot and must not use others for their own ends, whether they be children or colleagues; that genuine changes in education as an integral part of the community can only come from below from the direct activity of those involved. The times are favourable and the 'credibility' of government is disappearing, so too is the 'credibility' of much in the education system.

BILL SHAW.

Judgement on Justice

ON THURSDAY, November 28, The National Council for Civil Liberties held a 'briefing', less formal than a press conference, on its new campaign to involve the public in the process of law reform. Most of the talking was done by Tony Smythe, the General Secretary, who has done so much to revive the NCCL and make it a national force. (He is, alas, leaving soon. After six years he feels he needs a change.)

In answer to a questioner, he made it clear that this campaign, given the title 'Judgement on Justice', was intended as a reply to the Criminal Law Revision Committee, whose recommendations constitute a deliberate attempt to destroy civil liberties. Indeed he made the point that an insidious war has been waged against them for the best part of a decade.

Already, as the result of opposition from some sections of the public, and not least from the NCCL, the Government has begun to make concessions, to become edgy and defensive, in its attempt to restrict civil liberties.

The debate in the House of Lords, September 22, on the Criminal Justice Bill, provided a small but significant victory. An amendment was proposed that would have given magistrates power to remand a defendant in custody for 20 days. At present a remand in custody can only last 8. This amendment was defeated by 45 votes to 6.

And so it goes on. The price of freedom is eternal vigilance and so forth. Most anarchists have a horror of reformism, and the minutiae of laws and proposed laws bore them. Nevertheless it is as well to know a bit about what is going on, what new treachery our masters are plotting against us.

The NCCL are issuing 'Action Kits', folders containing information and suggestions about what can be done. These are intended for use by local groups of the NCCL, and by other bodies likely to be interested.

Everyone is likely to come into con-

flikt with the law today, the young, the blacks, even the motorists. Recently ten million trade unionists found themselves, no doubt to their surprise, potential law-breakers. Therefore everyone should know their rights, and how to defend them legally (or extra-legally if it comes to that, but this was not discussed, as the NCCL believes in 'freedom under the law').

ANGLO-SOVIET JUSTICE

Concerning the proposed abolition of the 'right to silence', one of the NCCL speakers, towards the end of the 'briefing', described the whole thing as the 'so-called abolition of a so-called right'. He went on to say that what the Criminal Law Reform Committee proposes is something far worse. Any suspect who fails to mention any fact, whether the police ask him or not, even though he later introduces it himself in his defence, will have it counted against him.

Suppose he forgets? Well, he'll have to prove he forgot. How can you prove a thing like that? Somebody described a recent Soviet trial in these terms, 'The court behaved like the Mexican gambler who said, "Señores, I have four aces and two revolvers!"' British courts will soon be the same, merely mechanisms to 'process' those 'society' dislikes, hold them up to public obloquy and dismiss them to outer darkness. No one will be expected to be able to prove their innocence. The mere fact they are in court will condemn them.

The borderline between ordinary criminal trials and 'political' trials grows increasingly fine. The Establishment is striking out in all directions, the Stoke Newington Eight, the Derry Thirteen, and Lord Widgery's attempt to whitewash the massacre, Lord Porn's report followed by a police raid on *Men Only*, the *Oz* trial, the *IT* trial, and so on.

POLICEMEN ARE HUMAN TOO

It was encouraging when Tony Smythe

spoke upon the current attempts of the police to regain public sympathy and support. They are coming to realise that they cannot do their work without public co-operation. Good! Perhaps they will now cease to plant drugs on people whose skin colour or long hair they dislike, and refrain from beating them to death in lonely streets. One of the best ways of getting on friendly terms with someone is not to hit him, or make trouble for him, a simple fact which seems to be beyond the grasp of some policemen. Not that an anarchist wants public co-operation with the police,

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The address of th Camden High Street, N phone number is 485

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Why Anarchists Don't Vote

EVERYTHING THAT can be said about the suffrage may be summed up in one sentence—To vote is to give up your power.

To elect a master of many, for a long or short time, is to resign one's liberty. Call it an absolute monarch, a constitutional king, or a simple MP, the candidate that you raise to the throne, to the seat, or to the easy chair, he will always be your master. They are persons that you put 'above' the law, since they have the power of making the laws,

and because it is their mission to see that they are obeyed.

To vote is befitting of idiots.

It is as foolish as believing that men, of the same make as ourselves, will acquire in a moment, at the ringing of a bell, the knowledge and the understanding of everything. Of course, it is so. Your elected person shall have to legislate on every subject under the moon; how a box of matches should or should not be made, or how to make war; how to improve the agriculture, or how best to kill a tribe of Arabs or a few Negroes. Probably you believe that

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The possession of power has a maddening influence—parliaments have always wrought unhappiness.

In ruling assemblies, in a fatal manner, the will prevails of those below the average, both morally and intellectually.

To vote is to prepare shameful treachery and traitors. Electors do certainly believe in the honesty of the candidates, and this is to a certain extent existing while the fervour and the heat of the contest remains.

But every day has its tomorrow. As soon as the conditions alter, likewise do men change. Today your candidate bows humbly before your presence; tomorrow, he will say 'pish' to you. From a cadger of votes he has turned to be a master of yours.

The atmosphere of the legislatures is not for deep breathing; it is corrupt. If you send one of yourselves in a foul place, you must not be surprised afterwards if he comes back in a rotten condition.

Therefore: Do not part with your freedom. Don't vote!

Instead of trusting the defence of your interests to others, see to the matter by yourselves. Instead of trying to choose advisers that will guide you in future actions, do the thing yourselves, and do it now! Men of good will shall not have to look long in vain for the opportunity.

To put on others' shoulders the responsibility of one's actions is cowardice. DON'T VOTE!

ELISEE RECLUS.

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As for the jibes about my being CIA paid or having a fascistic mind, I find them odd seeing that my article contained derogatory references to both fascism and US imperialism as well as to 'Marxism' as practised in Moscow, Peking and Hanoi. On second thoughts however I don't find them so odd. As I tried to point out in my article, fanatics of the left can easily become fanatics of the right and are naturally abusive to anyone who points this out. Between

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COSMOPOLITANISM AND FREEDOM

Many years ago in Hyde Park I was asked by a black passerby (I was selling FREEDOMS and pamphlets at the time) whether I had anything on racism. And I could only reply that anarchists do not acknowledge the existence of races. (I was tempted to add that for anarchists there were only two—anarchists and everyone else, but I did not feel this shaft of wit would be appreciated.) In those days it was taken for granted amongst enlightened, civilised people that all human beings were of the same species. But the passerby was right all the same. We should have paid attention to the storm clouds even then looming on the horizon. The characteristic anarchist mistake is to imagine, not that all men are good, but that all men are reasonable, even though their reasoning may be based on faulty premises, or their motives open to question.

But this is not true. Not only rulers,

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Yours faithfully
Buenos Aires

but whole nations Hitler, Powell and leaders. Such men allowing if they are times not even the of mass insanity the who oppose racism powers. Nevertheless not hopeless. Marx been swept by similarity, and the still sense and humanist storms.

We need to stress cosmopolitanism (and so, internationalism) humanity of all men enemies of differing we need to make common ground with share. It should not late day and age, is baffled at the twentieth century, the reason for it. Freedom is impossible beings can be called 'Jews' or 'immigrants' from country to concentration camps

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Justice

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but the less brutality in the world the better.

The above represents my comments, not those of Tony Smythe, I hasten to add.

Many more subjects were discussed, the appallingly crowded courts, the question of legal aid in Scotland (Scots law is behind English in this matter), the granting of bail, the Notting Hill Law Centre, and so on. The NCCL is reformist but deserves our support. The social revolution is a long way away, and if we want to retain any sort of personal freedom in the meantime, we should be prepared to help such bodies, so far as we can, without compromising our anarchist ideals.

SMOG.

The address of the NCCL is 152 Camden High Street, N.W.1 and the telephone number is 485 9497/9.

political extremists only the slogans differ not the primitive emotions involved. When Hitler and Co. were in the ascendancy many 'Marxists' flocked to join them, when Hitler and Co. were being routed the movement was the other way. I tried to point out in my article that this switch over will occur once again in Europe soon when the final bankruptcy of Marxism will have become apparent due to the Russia/China war. However there are exceptions to every rule and only time will tell which camp F.E. will end up in.

London

R.J.

Schwarzbard

Dear Comrades,

I have noticed Peter Newell's letter in *FREEDOM*, but I didn't know that the old comrades in England who knew Schwarzbard are no longer alive to react on a letter like this. I also don't understand how *FREEDOM* could publish it! It is well known what the Ukraine fascists can invent. I personally have no doubt in Schwarzbard's honesty. First of all I know from Doctor Zalkind's (the last editor of the Jewish Anarchist paper, the *Arbeter Friend*, in London) letter to me at that time, he carried the most burden of Schwarzbard's trial. If Doctor Zalkind would have had the slightest doubt of Schwarzbard's honesty, of course he wouldn't have wanted to have anything to do with the trial, nor would he have bothered with his release. I remember the name Scholom Schwarzbard from that time when he used to publish his songs in *Rocker's Arbeter Friend* in London, till he went to South Africa with a mission for the Vilna Yivo (an Academical scholarly Jewish research society, the headquarters used to be in Vilna, Lithuania). Also Yivo wouldn't have trusted a person with their mission if they would have suspected anything. A few years ago I remember reading an article by a renowned Italian comrade who praised Schwarzbard's open doors and open heart for all comrades. He himself on his way back from the States through Paris received a gift, a winter coat, from Schwarzbard. We shouldn't forget that Schwarzbard was far from being rich, he made a humble living from his small watchmaker shop. His wife also worked. But how much they always shared with other comrades who had had



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Continued from page 1

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and innocent as a baby!

The picture which the Ukraine nation-
alist fascists painted of him does not
fit in.

Yours fraternally,

Buenos Aires

J. GORODISKY.

but whole nations may go raving mad.
Hitler, Powell and Amin are popular
leaders. Such men only lose their fol-
lowing if they are defeated, and some-
times not even then. Against the force
of mass insanity the anarchists and others
who oppose racism have apparently weak
powers. Nevertheless the situation is
not hopeless. Mankind has in the past
been swept by similar waves of irration-
ality, and the still small voices of common
sense and humanity have calmed the
storms.

We need to stress, at the present time,
cosmopolitanism (or, if you must call
it so, internationalism) and the common
humanity of all men. We are not the
enemies of differing human cultures, but
we need to make abundantly clear the
common ground which all human beings
share. It should not be necessary at this
late day and age, and the present writer
is baffled at the intolerance of the
twentieth century, and cannot understand
the reason for it, but evidently it is.
Freedom is impossible when human
beings can be classified as 'Asians',
'Jews' or 'immigrants', and then driven
from country to country, put in con-
centration camps or killed.

JOHN BRENT.

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OPPOSING FORCES OF GOOD AND EVIL

(continued from last week)

World War 2 can be argued in a number of ways. In a sense it was the penultimate confrontation of a continual European war fed by prejudice and petty rivalry extending to before Renaissance times. A permanent balance of power struggle between the various indigenous groups within Europe that has given that particular geographical sub-continent a backlog of bloodshed unmatched in history. Matched only, in fact, by its prominence in all world affairs, both military and ideological.

Nazi intellectuals, to justify their creed, drew upon and prostituted the ideas of the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. Hence there is a continuing misconception about his ideas.

Yet Shaw based his ideas of the 'life-force' upon Nietzsche, and, in this form, they are found quite acceptable.

The German's philosophy is of a life-force that is, to quote the title of one of his books, 'beyond good and evil'. Because he rejected the totally stylised framework of Hegel and the other philosophers of the 'systemised universe' there could be no such concise definition. It is a force that exists beyond moral order. Life is a vibrant force that is pure unchannelled will.

The philosopher found its expression in the violence of the raw untamed energy of a thunderstorm, or the seething 'war for survival' behind the apparent tranquility of a rose, or in the collective will of men going to war, the danger, the possibility of imminent death stimu-

lating their senses.

William Blake preceded Nietzsche's ideas when he pronounced that 'energy is eternal delight'.

The New England poet Walt Whitman was speaking also of the power of pure life when he said 'I sing the body electric'.

The psychologist Jung also theorised about a universal consciousness of which the individual will and psyche is but a part.

It is significant perhaps that Nietzsche built his ideas around the symbolic figure of the prophet Zarathustra, a fragment of pre-Christian Caucasian culture connected historically with the worship of fire. The raw energy of fire, the free will beyond moral order of the pagan faith can be seen as expressions of his 'life-force', his free energy, his 'will to power'.

But fire can be harnessed if its potential is properly understood.

Free energy is flexible and can be channelled. On its most direct level it can be turned into indiscriminate violence. Exist as a pool upon which, when the level of social discontent reaches a certain level, can be tapped by a dictator, and channelled into violence. On a lighter level, it can be reached under certain conditions at a rock festival to produce hysteria, a feeling of intense well-being, remember the term 'freaking-out'?

Turned in upon itself, and allowed to flow in limited, calculated amounts it can be sculptured into great art.

Yet of itself the power is amoral, neither can it be said to be a force for good or a force for evil, it just 'is'.

In this sense George Moore's comment about one of Goya's nudes that 'What does it matter if a 16-year-old girl had to be debauched if the result is a masterpiece?' takes on a clearer meaning. Art is a force, like aggression, that knows no rules or moral impediments, its only priority is that of fulfilment.

To live life according to Nietzsche is to live life to its fullest, a celebration of the life-force. It can be expressed as by D. H. Lawrence and Walt Whitman, symbolised as sex, which is all-powerful, something that is uncontrolled, that knows extreme exultation, a feeling of one-ness with the universe, awareness of the god-potential in men, or can be suppressed to escape perversion. The close association between sex and violence is obvious and needs no elaboration. Hence, in this light, Wells' paradox becomes meaningless. The existence of intense violence and complexity of social order are no longer seen as polar opposites, but as two expressions of the same 'life-force'.

In this light also, great art and great acts of barbarity must be considered to spring from the same fountainhead.

If the meek ever were to inherit the earth it would not be a utopia of poets and artists, for they are as closely connected, perhaps even more aware of their power of potential aggression than the US napalm bomber in Vietnam.

So man is no longer seen as the civilised lord of a 'best of all possible worlds' as the chosen creature of god. Just as he cannot be seen to be condemned to a life of hardship as the result of an original sin. Indeed Nietzsche said 'God is dead' to symbolise his total rejection of this moral order.

Man is the vessel of a life-force which is beyond such conceptions. It can be channelled in certain directions, but it cannot, of itself, be either a force for abstract good, or evil. Neither can it be ignored, or suppressed for long.

Nietzsche eventually went insane, and died without regaining sanity in 1900.

Perhaps, to a mind in an atmosphere of Luther, father was a clergyman, concept of such a world order was too close today with the sun established belief, ideas, many find a moral vacuum.

Despite the fact of Taoism, Confucianism, figure, or set of those imposed upon (although decadent) have resulted in the phets as personifications of Eastern beliefs have as long as Christianity brilliant civilisations philosophies unattainable thinking man.

Christianity, a blend of forces of good and reason' belief in all have added such barriers separating the life-force. It is to explore the Nietzsche's 'revelation' of the vibrant power of Eastern desire for state of Satori, a universe, which is Buddhism.

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But first of all unlearning.

Unlearning strict

On Behalf of true Aussies

ABOUT 24,000 YEARS AGO the first Koories came to this continent and began to occupy it. (Koori is an Aboriginal word meaning 'The People'; as it is unfamiliar in Britain I will henceforth use the white man's term.) It is possible that people were already here, and either were absorbed or migrated to Tasmania. It is estimated that in 1788 there were about 300,000 Aborigines forming about 500 tribes.

In 1770 Captain Cook took possession of much of eastern Australia in the name of the British Crown. Cook himself got on well with Aborigines, as he did with native peoples elsewhere. He, like Rousseau, held to the idea of 'the noble savage'.

In 1788 the First Fleet landed near what is now Sydney. Settlers took over the land and spread different reports of the 'savages'. The Aborigines defended themselves to some extent, but their weapons were not very effective against guns. In some areas they were

plus keep.

In Queensland, unskilled Aboriginal male workers are paid \$21 a week, plus \$2.50 keep.

(1971 average minimum weekly award wage rate for adult male Australians: \$58.)

In Victoria, in 1966, Aboriginal unemployment was estimated at 30% at a time when the overall unemployment figure was 0.7%.

In New South Wales, at the same time, Aboriginal unemployment was 20%.

A handy myth of low intelligence has been used to account for the low living and educational standards of the Aborigines. This myth has been exploded by *Race and Culture* (UNESCO) and by research in Australia. Nevertheless, 2% of Aboriginal children are in secondary schools, compared with 6.2% of all Australian children.

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In 1788 the First Fleet landed near what is now Sydney. Settlers took over the land and spread different reports of the 'savages'. The Aborigines defended themselves to some extent, but their weapons were not very effective against guns. In some areas they were hunted like animals, notably in Tasmania (where they were exterminated) and Western Australia.

By 1900 the Aborigines had been subdued. The myth was cultivated that they were a dying race, and it was considered 'humane' to let them die in peace. 'Protectors' were appointed, and Aborigines put on reserves—usually the poorest available land.

It became apparent that the Aborigines would not conveniently die out. 'Assimilation' became Federal Policy. Though there were changes of emphasis, this meant that Aborigines would be 'encouraged' to live like white men in the cities, incidentally leaving the reserves free for mining, grazing and similar activities.

Today there are 80,000 to 131,000 Aborigines. (The figure depends on the definition of 'Aborigine'). 9% live in the State capitals (compared with 56% of the total population), 23% in urban areas (Cf. 82% of the total population).

DISCRIMINATION

Hard facts are hard to come by: the authorities keep few separate statistics on Aborigines and so maintain a pretence of non-discrimination.

However:

In Queensland, 6,000 Aborigines living on reserves are virtually chattels of the Director of Aboriginal Affairs.

In the Northern Territory, unskilled Aboriginal male workers outside the cattle industry are paid \$7.20 a week

plus keep.

In Queensland, unskilled Aboriginal male workers are paid \$21 a week, plus \$2.50 keep.

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LAND

In the traditional society, land was not only the Aborigines' source of livelihood, it was also their spiritual centre, the home of their ancestors and the source of their social cohesion. The land was taken away: inevitably the society collapsed. Except for those in South Australia, Aborigines have no land, no title to land, and no secure tenure of land.

This contrasts with India, the USA, and Canada, in all of which indigenous peoples have those rights.

If any foreign comparisons are meaningful, the best would be with the American Indians. For millennia the Aborigines lived in harmony with nature. They did not pollute or destroy their environment. They survived in the harshest of continents, but had leisure for the arts, free time in which to create beautiful stories, dances, and paintings. White men took their land. White men took their lives. Other white men saved their lives, at the price of their culture. Now, yet other white men are questioning the city-culture, and saying we should save our world rather than rape it.

The Aborigines, who for 24,000 years conserved the Australian environment, are asking for some of it back. What right has anyone to refuse?

MARSHALL EAGLE.

Acknowledgement: *To achieve our country—Australia and the Aborigines* by Lorna Lippmann, Cheshire Publishing Pty. Ltd., Melbourne and Marrickville, NSW, from which much of the material was lifted without permission.

This Week in Ireland

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Last weekend saw riots and petrol bombings from Dundalk to Castlebellingham, and the Irish Army using CS gas and garda stations being petrol-bombed in the little villages of Co. Louth. This was NOT the work of the Provos. Since it was the ordinary uninvolved members of the villages who bore the brunt, a lot of us think it was the work of British agents provocateurs. O'Malley, our minister for injustice, is dying to clamp down on all of what he calls 'subversives', and since no member of our Government dares blow their nose without permission from Westminster, and lick their overmasters boots—who knows? It may, on the other hand, have been the Unionist extremists, as it was timed to coincide with the Darlington non-conference, which, in spite of the 200 journalists there, was a non-event. Faulkner was as obdurate as ever with his 'full security powers must be vested in Stormont', but the two other parties who attended, the Alliance and the NILP, are only very slightly diluted Unionists. All that has come out of this conference is that a green paper will in due course be issued. I doubt if the colour is significant!

It is quite extraordinary that no member of the British media has been present at Strasbourg this week when Ireland brought her accusation of the Violation of Human Rights and torture against the British. Irish Radio-Television

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Anarchist

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Perhaps, to a mind brought up in an atmosphere of Lutheran Christianity (his father was a clergyman in Leipzig) the concept of such a world without apparent order was too overwhelming. Even today with the supposed crumbling of established belief, the questioning of ideas, many find the concept of such a moral vacuum disturbing, frightening.

Despite the fact that in Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, there is no god-figure, or set of ultimate values beyond those imposed upon the world by man (although decadent forms of each belief have resulted in the deification of prophets as personified symbols). These Eastern beliefs have existed for at least as long as Christianity, have inspired brilliant civilisations, works of art and philosophies unattainable to Western-thinking man.

Christianity, a belief in abstract, distinct forces of good and evil, the 'age of reason' belief in the power of logic, all have added successive layers to the barriers separating Western man from the life-force. It would be interesting to explore the comparisons between Nietzsche's 'revelation' at the realisation of the vibrant power of will, with the Eastern desire for the attainment of the state of Satori, or one-ness with the universe, which is the basis of true Buddhism.

But that would be extraneous to the stated objects of this argument. To explore the relationship between individual aggression, and racial conflict. To answer the question 'Why demonstrate peace when we are not at war?'

If we are to accept that the concept of the life-force is a real expression of truth, that Western man has been effectively blindfolded for the last two thousand years, we must also accept the basic amorality of life. There can be no higher authority to consult, there can be no 'absolute' moral order. It is just as noble an expression of the life-force to destroy a city as it is to create it.

Perhaps, although Bertrand Russell approached the question from the wrong direction, the truth of his words could stand re-examining. Man must learn. Man must learn about the power that he is heir to.

But first of all he must learn by unlearning.

Unlearning strict adherence to 'known'

facts. Re-examining 'established' beliefs. Questioning ideas of life. Eliminating pre-conceptions until an existentialist plateau can be reached.

Not as the early 20th century writers saw this state, as a meaningless soul-destroying vacuum. But as a basis from which to build a true picture of life in the face of exultation, the limitless power of will, as a power for peace, for creation, rather than directionless barbarity and savagery.

PEACE. (Pes) Lat Pacem, nom pax.

(1) Cessation of, freedom from strife.

(2) Freedom from civil disorder.

ANDREW DARLINGTON.

Contact

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Help Fold and Despatch 'FREEDOM'
Thursdays from 2 p.m., followed by discussion at 7.30 p.m.

Croydon Libertarian Group meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday each month at 7.30 p.m., Top Flat, 4 Warminster Road, S.E.25. Contact for other activities: B. Miles, 38 Farm Fields, Sanderstead, S. Croydon, Surrey, CR2 0HL (01-657 4860).

Double Room Wanted or Small Flat. Urgently required for editors (couple) of 'Libertarian Sunrise'. Approx. £8 p.w. Ask for Chris Hall, Education Dept., 636 1577 or leave message at 748 1407.

Volunteers Wanted, with theatrical experience preferred, for Anarchist project. Possibly November 5th, London. Quite legal and not a demo. Box 9, Freedom Press.

Corby, November 10. Public Meeting on 'Libertarian Education'. Speaker: Arthur Humphrey. Green Room, Civic Centre, 7.30 p.m. Contact Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk.

Libertarian Book Club Fall Lecture Series, Thursdays, 7 p.m., 369 8th Avenue at 29th Street, New York: October 12, Nunzio Pernicone, 'The Italian Anarchist as Rebel and Outlaw'; October 26, Olga Lang, 'The Problem of Conscience in Russian Literature'; November 9, Terry Perlin, 'Anarchism and Elitism'; November 23, Judith Malina and Julian Beck, 'Anarchism and Organization'; December 14, Murray Bookchin, 'Ecology and Anarchism'.

Libertarian Women's Newssheet. Comes out once every three weeks. From 68 Chingford Road, E.17, 3p plus postage.

Would any comrade buying a new vacuum cleaner offer the old one rather than trading it in. Freedom Press.

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The SDLP come today to talk with
Lynch and next week with the oppo-
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forget their religious divisions foisted
on them by imperialist capitalists for
their own benefit, and get together and
copy Cavan and Ballingarry. Speed the
day.

H.

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perience preferred, for Anarchist
project. Possibly November 5th,
London. Quite legal and not a
demo. Box 9, Freedom Press.

Corby, November 10. Public Meeting
on 'Libertarian Education'. Speaker:
Arthur Humphrey. Green Room,
Civic Centre, 7.30 p.m. Contact
Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk.

Libertarian Book Club Fall Lecture
Series, Thursdays, 7 p.m., 369 8th
Avenue at 29th Street, New York:
October 12, Nunzio Pernicone, 'The
Italian Anarchist as Rebel and Out-
law'; October 26, Olga Lang, 'The
Problem of Conscience in Russian
Literature'; November 9, Terry Per-
lin, 'Anarchism and Elitism'; Novem-
ber 23, Judith Malina and Julian
Beck, 'Anarchism and Organization';
December 14, Murray Bookchin,
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mond Road, Leeds 6. Phone: Leeds
59762.

London Anarchists meet socially in 'The
Sun', Drury Lane (Bloomsbury end),
W.C.2. Tottenham Court Road Tube.
From 7.30 p.m. on Sundays.

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unskilled Aboriginal
paid \$21 a week, plus

minimum weekly award
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1966, Aboriginal un-
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